2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-3 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII, 3/4 and no medicines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot, strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions; indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still for a period varying from a day to about a week, but during this time and subsequently she may prepare any food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair, touch her own face, and perform various other acts which are forbidden under like circumstances among many other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of newborn children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

846 844 [278] 846 844
3/4 [P. 154(8), Cat. 116.--Analyst]

J. Dorsey E-3 (1900-1907)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely 846 to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the 846 umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death. [759] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time 553 within a few days after birth. This first rite is per- 608 formed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

J. Barrett E 6 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

601

Father's si. so. da. /ʔihpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

843

[262]

[152]

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

844 ●
123

[769]

844
123

about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

844
[759]
[887]
[462]

Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

845
763

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [776]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]